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ABSTRACT

The Southern Education Foundation's Higher Education Program (HEP), its history, activities, and directions are described. The program was established within the foundation in 1974 to address the critical issues raised by the Adams vs. Richardson case, which mandated the dismantling of dual (racially discriminatory) systems of public higher education. From 1974 to 1982, the foundation concentrated on small grants and conferences, but in 1982, the Ford Foundation provided funding to expand the HEP. It consisted of four distinct but interrelated areas: monitoring and coalition building, outreach and networking, technical assistance, and a research task force. Each had the primary purpose of advancing efforts to construct a unitary system of higher education guaranteeing racial equity or parity and simultaneously enhancing and preserving the integrity and viability of historically black institutions. The formal program in higher education ended in 1986, but elements of work in this area continue in the Southern Education Foundation's Education and Public Policy Program. Appended materials include profiles of individuals influential in the HEP, authors of HEP-sponsored studies, a list of HEP grants, a chronology of major activities, a list of foundation publications, and a reference list. (MSE)

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Advocacy and Strategic Intervention

THE HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

A TWELVE-YEAR REPORT

by

James E. Blackwell
University of Massachusetts/Boston

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James E. Blackwell
April 1987

PREFACE

The Southern Education Foundation established its Higher Education Program (HEP) in 1974 to address the critical issues which arose from the historic *Adams* v. *Richardson* case of that year, which mandated the dismantling of dual systems of public higher education. For more than a decade, the Foundation devoted a major share of its resources and energies toward this goal of desegregation of higher education. The pages which follow chronicle the twelve-year history of the HEP and its considerable influence on the desegregation process of public, post-secondary education.

Initial efforts of the HEP focused on support of citizens' groups which monitored state desegregation plans. Later, its work broadened to include involvement in a wide range of programs aimed at improving the quality of higher education for minorities. A research task force, outreach networking forums, and monitoring and coalition building were all integral components of the HEP.

Although the formal program in Higher Education ended in 1986, various elements of work in this area continue under the auspices of the Southern Education Foundation's Education and Public Policy Program.

Tracing its roots to 1867, the Southern Education Foundation, (SEF), is a public charity which seeks to advance equal and quality education, primarily for blacks in Southern states. SEF makes grants in all areas of education and operates its own program in education and public policy. SEF's interests include childhood education, higher education, education and economic development, education in rural areas, community involvement, and professional education for minorities.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Higher Education Program of the Southern Education Foundation is a history of consistent commitment to a major goal — equity in the desegregation of state systems of higher education in the South. It is a history of a commitment to educational change; of instrumentation and advocacy for those who are short-changed by those systems or who because of the accident of race are denied full participation in the educational system. It is, further, a history of developing Linkages between a relatively small but influential philanthropic enterprise and larger foundations capable of influencing the magnitude of programs among their publics.

The history of the Higher Education Program encompasses much more because it has been both an extension and a re-affirmation of the Foundation's traditional commitment to the dual strategies of advocacy and intervention at critical junctures of change processes. When the program was established in 1974, the Foundation was already undergoing major transformations in response to the cataclysmic events of the 1960s and the winds of change observable in the early 1970s occasioned by social, economic and political currents. Organizational transformations and responses were necessarily implemented by social actors whose commitments, belief systems, and behavior could influence action.

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The 1975 board of directors of the Southern Education Foundation, one year after the formation of the Higher Education Program. Seated, left to right: Jean Fairfax, Watts Hill, Jr., Samuel Allen, Gordon Foster, Ruby Martin. Standing: Cleveland Dennard, Elridge McMillan (program associate), John Griffin, (executive director), Harold Fleming, John Munro, David Freeman, Anton Rice, Jr.

EARLY EFFORTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

First and foremost was the board of directors* of the Southern Education Foundation. Its members articulated organizational goals and formulated policies and guidelines through which goals could be realized. In the historical perspective, of special importance was the board of trustees which functioned during the period between 1968 and 1974. Like its successor boards, some of whose members overlapped with the membership of the 1968-74 board, its members had become increasingly sensitized to new educational problems, needs and reforms. By 1974, as will be elaborated in subsequent sections, this board had come to appreciate the new organizational task of moving the Foundation from its traditional programmatic emphasis on early childhood education, elementary education, and the training or preparation of black teachers toward issues in higher education that emanated from the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision of *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas.* It was this board of trustees which restructured the focus of the Foundation by redefining functional priorities and by using its legitimate authority to explicate and operationalize new normative guidelines through which broader goals could be attained. By those actions, that board influenced organizational behavior for the next decade.

The Foundation had a history of involvement in higher education for a substantial period before *Adams* v. *Richardson* was filed, and before the Higher Education Program was actually formalized.

Small grants were awarded to a range of colleges and universities for the establishment and development of specific programs and/or for the strengthening of academic curricula. Specific examples of this commitment include a $5,000 grant to the University of Pittsburgh to support a general conference on testing scheduled to convene at Hampton Institute; a $4,500 grant to North Carolina A&T University to assist in the development of a graduate program in Sociology, and a $2,400 grant to Tuskegee Institute to strengthen the field work component of its degree program in social work. Grants also were made to colleges, such as LeMoyne-Owen College, to conduct a summer program for students who failed to meet admissions requirements, and to Tougaloo College in support of a research project in the Department of History. SEF also provided support to traditionally white institutions, such as the Medical College of Georgia, University of South Carolina and the University of North Carolina, which conducted summer enhancement programs in professional fields for minorities.

In addition, the Foundation also had obtained grants from the Northeast Area Foundation and the 3M Company to assist the libraries of some forty or more traditionally black institutions (TBIs). Funds were allocated for the procurement of equipment, technical assistance and printing. Earlier the Foundation had awarded grants to such prominent educators as Dr. Horace Mann Bond to conduct a variety of summer programs at Atlanta-area colleges. Financial support was granted for statewide teachers meetings during the summer months.

As early as 1968, the Foundation administered grants from the Ford Foundation to assist TBIs in conducting self-studies more effectively. Grants were not to exceed $5,000 per institution. However, each grant enabled faculty members to receive released time for a period of six months to one year in order to work on institutional self-studies. The Foundation spent approximately $1 million on the Institutional Self-Study Program.

*Hereafter referred to as board of trustees to reflect 1984 name change.

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During the 1960s, the Foundation devoted considerable energy and resources to other areas of enhancement of the TBIs. For instance, faculty development programs were supported by the Foundation. These activities included full-year fellowships for pre-doctoral training of selected faculty members of TBIs. State scholarships awarded to black college teachers were augmented by small grants from the Foundation. According to former SEF Executive Director John Griffin, "the fellowship program had as its purpose not only providing graduate and professional training but also furthering the desegregation of Southern graduate schools, for when it was initiated these schools were hardly beginning to desegregate."

Some two hundred fellowships were awarded; about 75 percent of the fellows completed doctorates. Many of these men and women, most of whom were black, became leaders in a wide range of educational work in the South.

The Full-Year Fellowship Program was phased out in the middle 1960s and the internship program was developed at the suggestion of the president of the Foundation, Mr. David F. Freeman, and Mrs. Virginia Frank Fleming, an SEF staff member. Unlike the fellowship program, the internship program required much more participation of the Foundation. Mrs. Fleming provided the special leadership for the program and guided it through most of the years of its existence. When Mrs. Fleming resigned, Elridge W. McMillan, associate director of the Foundation, took on the project and was its director.

The internship program was evidence of the Foundation's continuing commitment to the development of leadership among persons who sought responsibility for education in the South. Over a nine year period under this program, some 79 persons were recruited, selected, trained and placed in educational settings. They became a new generation of innovators and administrators in colleges and universities as well as in secondary school systems throughout the South. Although phased out by the mid-1970s, the internship program had by then emerged as a significant contribution of the Foundation to broadening the participation of blacks in all arenas of higher education.

As discussions of dualism in higher education raised serious questions about threats to TBIs, SEF Board President David Freeman, Board Member Jean Fairfax and others insisted that a priority in the desegregation efforts had to be dismantling of dualism accompanied by the protection and enhancement of the TBIs. It was in this spirit that a small grant was awarded to the late Dr. Vivian Henderson, then president of Clark College, to convene presidents of TBIs to discuss major issues and concerns of blacks in higher education. It was out of this meeting that the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) was formed.

The *Adams* case, filed in 1970, was beginning to have a profound influence on the SEF board of trustees. Litigation against Southern states and their systems of public higher education, coupled with concern for the welfare of the TBIs, led the SEF board to conclude that immediate intervention into the process of desegregation was necessary.

"SEF has had a long-time involvement in desegregation."

Elridge W. McMillan

THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE

John Griffin had been especially concerned with issues addressed in the *Brown* case with respect to dualism in higher education. That concern was of paramount importance locally since the traditionally white institutions (TWIs) in Georgia had not made significant progress toward expanding access to black college students, or with the desegregation of faculty, managers, executives and administrators. In 1970, the colleges and universities in Georgia remained essentially racially separate entities; hence, dualism persisted. This matter of dualism was raised during several meetings of the board of trustees.

As a result of a conference on Southern higher education, held in June 1971, a Committee of Twelve was formed. This body was comprised of Georgians who were active participants in higher education and who desired more rapid integration of the University System of Georgia. This committee included Dr. John A. Griffin, chairman; Elridge McMillan; Dr. Cameron Fincher, director of the Institute of Higher Education, University of Georgia; Dr. Samuel Nabrit, and other important educators from such institutions and organizations as Mercer University, Albany State College, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, the Southern Fellowship Fund, and the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. Membership of the Committee was indicative of the broad network of educational expertise and organizational contacts that the Southern Education Foundation already had forged.

In 1972, this Committee commissioned a study of Georgia's three TBIs. In 1974, having grown weary of the deliberate procrastination within the University System with respect to dismantling its system, members of the Committee met with the Chancellor of the Board of Regents and his staff. The purpose of this meeting was for the public to have input into a revised desegregation plan. As a result of that meeting and in response to meetings with the then Chancellor of the University System, Griffin and other Committee members visited approximately 15 member institutions of the University System.

Prior to these visits, Chancellor Simpson had asserted that positions were indeed available for the employment of blacks in TWIs but that "it was impossible to find any." The Committee articulated a concern over the paucity of blacks in faculty, professional staff and support staff positions at the TWIs. It equally was concerned with the lingering underrepresentation of black students in the so-called desegregated TWIs and the virtual absence of white students at the TBIs. These concerns became the basis for discussion at SEF board meetings.

Examinations of the minutes of SEF board meetings in 1973 reveal considerable attention was given to the question of "dualism in higher education," and to the American Association of Higher Education's Committee of Twelve. It was noted that some contingency funds had been spent in the collection of data for a Georgia Conference on Dualism and agreed that $25,000 might be allocated by the board to support the work of those persons attempting to address the issue of dualism. Subsequently, Dr. Griffin reported on the invitation received by the Committee of Twelve to visit member institutions of the University System of Georgia. Jean Fairfax, Director of the Division of Legal Information and Community Service of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, assumed a major leadership position on the board for the support of this citizen-group effort to dismantle the dual system. She constantly impressed upon the board the urgency of such efforts. Importantly, the board was not only receptive to the ideas presented by Griffin but encouraged the leadership involvement of Griffin and

John Griffin

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McMillan in their determination to effectuate greater access of blacks to the full range of higher education in Georgia.

According to an SEF-commissioned book, *It's Not Over in the South,* by Robert Anderson, the Foundation helped to fund a study of second generation desegregation carried out by six civil rights organizations—the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and the American Friends Service Committee, the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, the Legal Defense Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the Washington Research Project.

The report found many vestiges of a segregated past survived in supposedly desegregated schools.

> "Among major problems remaining, the organization reported segregation among faculty, ability grouping plans which had the effect of re-segregating students, and finally, inordinate numbers of minority students suspensions in desegregated circumstances." (Anderson, 1978, p. 7).

These two activity sets, the study of second generation desegregation emanating from the *Brown* decision and the work of the Committee of Twelve to address the fundamental problems rooted in dual systems of education, accelerated a stage of organizational redirection and change.

Following the May 20, 1974 meeting and subsequent campus visits, the Committee of Twelve issued a Report, "A Call for Public Concern," under the authorship of the formal name of the Committee: The Committee on Dualism and Desegregation Within the University System of Georgia of the American Association of Higher Education. Among other findings, the Committee noted that, while constituting 28 percent of the State's population, blacks comprised only 11.7 percent of the student body in the entire University System. Interviews with participants in the campus visits revealed that black faculty and professional staff were almost invisible at TWIs.

The Committee recommended, inter alia, the appointment of a biracial advisory committee that would advise the Board of Regents on the desegregation process and monitor progress toward desegregation of the University System; the appointment of a vice-chancellor of the Board of Regents; the establishment of goals and timetables for the enrollment of minority students at each unit within the System and that the goal should approximate the proportion of blacks in the State population; the Special Studies Program should be revised and reconceptualized so as to meet the needs of all students it purports to serve, and that efforts to desegregate the University System be given sufficient financial support that would actually assure desegregation throughout the System.

This report was taken to the Human Relations Commission for review and careful study. Governor Jimmy Carter showed a special interest in the Committee's recommendations. In the meantime, the Committee in conjunction with the Georgia Coalition lobbied diligently for the appointment of another black person, in addition to businessman Jesse Hill, to the Board of Regents. The outcome of that effort was the appointment of then associate director of the Southern Education Foundation, Elridge W. McMillan, to the Georgia Board of Regents in 1975. In 1985, McMillan was elected Vice-Chairman of the Board, and in 1986, he became the first black person ever elected chair of the University System of Georgia Board of Regents.

A FORMAL HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

Race and education had always been the central concern of the Foundation. By early 1974, it remained apparent that the broad area of race and education was of paramount importance. Discussions were dominated by the *Adams* case. Several SEF board members were especially influential in maintaining a high degree of consciousness about developments in that case, and of their far-reaching implications for blacks in higher education. From that point on, the *Adams* case would occupy center stage in most discussions of higher education in the South. At its April 11 meeting of that year, this issue was central to Board deliberations.

As the Legal Defense Fund pressed for further desegregation of higher education in the South, SEF was posed with a dilemma. On the one hand, it did not desire to launch a program that would lead to the demise of the TBIs — a ubiquitous conclusion or fear among many blacks in higher education. On the other hand, there was the historic SEF concern with bi-racialism. Tension existed between those who advocated for the ideal of a bi-racial system of higher education, in which all institutions were integrated; and those who argued that with desegregation, black institutions were anachronistic. There was also a tension between those who benefitted from the maintenance of the status quo in higher education and those who genuinely believed that cultural considerations were paramount in these deliberations, since TBIs were the purveyors of black heritage.

Special attention was devoted to such topics as dualism in higher education, equity financing, public policy analysis, governance in higher education systems, access to colleges and universities, private black college education, and outcomes, or the results of the educational process. Dr. Cleveland Dennard, then a board member, proposed that the Foundation might select some of these areas and develop strategies for dealing with them. Attorney Ruby Martin, also a board member, proposed that the staff should develop a plan of action, after which the board could determine a certain plan for a one-year period. Mrs. Martin also recommended that the staff "should contemplate expenditure to the $100,000 previously spent on the intern program." By direct and explicit inference, "this plan of action was to be related to higher education focusing on opportunities for blacks . . . ."

During that Board meeting an important motion which set the stage for the formalization of the Higher Education Program of SEF was approved:

> "Voted, that the staff would bring in an action plan related to higher education focusing on opportunities for post-secondary education for blacks calling for the expenditures up to $100,000 . . . ."

By this act, the Higher Education Program of the Southern Education Foundation was formalized as a coherent entity within the organization.

As a follow-up to a July 1974 SEF-sponsored conference in Atlanta, "Critical Issues Facing Blacks in Public Higher Education," SEF decided to publish basic information related to the *Adams* case. The result was *Ending Discrimination in Higher Education.* This fact book provided the first systematic effort to capture the historical developments of the *Adams* litigation on a state-by-state basis. Rich

"The Higher Education Program has served as a catalyst on civil rights and desegregation issues and provided the mechanism for developing linkages or alliances with individuals or groups concerned with the higher education of blacks in America . . ."

Samuel Myers, President
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education

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in statistical data, it revealed useful information on the demographic characteristics of each state currently or potentially subsumed under the *Adams* litigation, percentages of black college-age population by state, Fall 1973 enrollment data in public institutions by state and race, average faculty salary by race as illustrated in two Arkansas institutions, black representation on selected governing boards, black coalitions, and responses from the states. That document also delineated the issues which not only confronted blacks in November 1974 when it was published but still form the basis for current concerns about desegregation in the *Adams* states.

With the publication of *Ending Discrimination,* SEF made a far-reaching decision, as stated by then Executvie Director John Griffin, to distribute "other data and materials on the progress of desegregation" in order to "assist interested groups of private citizens, as well as educators and public officials as they work to complete the evolution to a unitary network of public higher education in each state."

By this time, the Higher Education Program was not only a formalized entity, but had already begun to exercise far-reaching influence.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

From 1974 to 1982 SEF concentrated on small grants and conferences. In 1982, the Ford Foundation responded favorably to a request for funding to expand the Higher Education Program. Over a four-year period, Ford provided almost $400,000 to expand the program. The Higher Education Program consisted of four distinct but interrelated areas: monitoring and coalition building, outreach and networking, technical assistance, and a research task force. By primarily employing the mechanism of small grants, the monitoring and coalition component enabled statewide coalitions to assess carefully all aspects of the desegregation efforts within each state and to facilitate expanded citizen participation in this endeavor. The outreach/networking component was designed to encourage serious discussions about *Adams*-related issues and to promote the sharing of information derived from those discussions. This goal was achieved through grants to organizations and institutions which permitted them to hold conferences focusing on desegregation issues. Third, technical assistance was provided to businesses, educational systems, colleges, state agencies and associations involved in some aspect of desegregation. Consultants, working in this component, generally focused on administrative and managerial issues.

The fourth and final component was the Research Task Force (RTF). Created in 1978, this body became the principal research arm of the Foundation and occupied the most visible component of the Higher Education Program.

The dominant theme in each component was an effort to advance the primary purpose of the *Adams* litigation — to construct a unitary system of higher education which guarantees racial equity or parity and, simultaneously, enhances and preserves the integrity and viability of the historically black institutions. Activities sponsored by each component demonstrated the dominance of the *Adams* case in the Higher Education Program.

"The SEF Higher Education Program has made me more keenly aware of the structure of higher education in the Commonwealth (of Virginia). It has allowed me to focus on the need to make changes in the governing boards . . . and most important, has shown that accountability in higher education is an illusion."

Attorney James E. Ghee
Virginia Coalition

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FROM *BROWN* TO *ADAMS*

Sixteen years after the rendering of the decision in the *Brown* case, and six years after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, institutional discrimination still pervaded the entire social, economic and political fabric of American society. Many school systems operated schools that were overwhelmingly black, Hispanic or Asian. Countless black public school teachers and principals of elementary and secondary schools had been displaced by white teachers and other school officials. While the TBIs were losing black students to predominantly white institutions, increasingly large proportions of black students were concentrated in two-year colleges and faced limited prospects for progression into four-year colleges and universities. Token employment of blacks at public institutions was the norm when and if it occurred. Few institutions had either a substantial pool of black students or employed black faculty and administrators. Discrimination persisted in the marketplace; consequently the median family income of blacks was only 60 percent of that of white families — a fact which represented a major economic barrier to college access.

Rigid admissions policies which used objective determinants of access to four-year TWIs, especially ACT and SAT scores, restricted the number of black students in those institutions. Discrimination in the allocation and distribution of financial aid was another barrier which limited the number of black students matriculated in these institutions. Among those who successfully maneuvered the plethora of restrictive barriers to access and actually enrolled at TWIs, several reported daily encounters with a hostile institutional environment in which faculty and students alike made life unnecessarily uncomfortable, if not threatening, to them. Institutions often ignored affirmative action guidelines. Some refused to promulgate affirmative action policies while, in others, such programs were meaningless and without credibility. Still some TWIs claimed to have made "good faith efforts" toward the recruitment of black faculty, staff and administrators but often argued: "We can't find *qualified* blacks to fill the positions we have." The operative word was "qualified" since assessments of "qualified" were too frequently influenced by the candidate's race and were an effective tool to mask race prejudice. The participation of blacks in the governance of State Systems of Higher Education was negligible at best since few had been either appointed or elected to such bodies as Boards of Regents. It was evident that the central and compelling mandates of the *Brown* decision had to be extended to publicly supported higher education. Enter the *Adams* case!

The evolution of the *Adams* case from 1970 to 1986 reveals that a relatively small philanthropic organization, like SEF, can mobilize resources and encourage inter-foundation partnerships to achieve specific goals. As a response to *Adams,* citizen groups mobilized into a coherent network. Diverse individuals and grassroots organizations nurtured a local leadership which served as the springboard for the development of political and educational leaders at the state and national levels. Empirical research was utilized as an important tool for fostering the desegregation of higher education while enhancing the status and condition of historically black institutions.

"The Adams *case is the largest and most comprehensive civil rights lawsuit in the history of American higher education; it may also become the longest."*

John Egerton, Writer
Nashville, Tennessee

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LDF, SEF AND THE *ADAMS* CASE

SEF and its Higher Education Program made especially strong contributions toward meaningful responses in critical areas encompassed by the *Adams* case.

SEF supported the goals of the Legal Defense Fund relative to its initial involvement in the *Adams* case. LDF's objectives were to ascertain the scope of issues demanding special attention in attempts to dismantle dual systems of public higher education and forestall efforts within the Federal Administration to restrict the dismantling process to "passive nondiscrimination;" that is, desegregation without major structural reorganization of State Systems of Higher Education. In this regard, a crucial consideration was the pressure from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to persuade litigants to accept a restricted desegregation process limited to "re-alignment," so that colleges and universities could be considered "racially neutral." Another goal was to discover a mechanism by which integration could be so redefined as to mean that it would not automatically result in the closing of TBIs. LDF also sought to guarantee that not only would the interests of black Americans be protected, but that there was complete certainty that a black constituency existed and was working aggressively for its own liberation.

"The original thrust of the Adams *case was on grades K-12; in fact, the political emphasis of the new Nixon Administration was also on K-12. But the LDF saw in this suit a mechanism for addressing the problem of reorganizing state systems of higher education."*

Jean Fairfax

With financial support from the Foundation, LDF commissioned background papers which focused on issues central to concerns of *Adams* as it applied to higher education. For example, researchers at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology authored position papers which identified issues to be addressed when reorganizing statewide systems of higher education. These issues included funding mechanisms and the distribution of state funds among the units comprising a unitary system; program budgets driven by full-time student enrollment (FTEs) and the implications of that formula for TBIs; the redistribution of students within a unitary system; and faculty concerns. These papers helped to shape the scope and specificity of the *Adams* litigation. These efforts were augmented by reports of other individuals whom LDF had commissioned to move about the South to interview and interact with strategically placed actors who could reveal the local pulse of response to the goals of the LDF.

Although the *Adams* suit was filed in October 1970, it was not until November 1972 that Judge John Pratt of the Federal district Court of Washington, D.C. ruled that HEW had failed to enforce compliance of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the Spring of 1973, SEF convened a meeting in Atlanta to discuss a format for reorganization of Southern state systems of higher education. Jean Fairfax authored a working paper on "Black Perspectives on Reorganization." She also prepared LDF's criteria for reorganization of state systems of higher education and presented it to HEW in June 1973. NAFEO had also filed a brief in which exceptions were taken to the positions expressed by HEW in the *Adams* case. About the same time that LDF was presenting its statement to HEW officials, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia was issuing its decree which upheld Judge Pratt's 1973 ruling and supported the concerns being registered by the LDF and NAFEO. Then ten states originally named in the *Adams* suit were ordered to develop and produce system-wide desegregation plans. June 1974 was established by the Court for HEW approval of the state plans or the initiation of proceedings against those states not in compliance with the court order. Under such proceedings, HEW was authorized to terminate all federal funds to states not in compliance with the desegregation order.

From the beginning, Louisiana refused to comply with the court order; consequently, its situation was referred to the office of the U.S. Attorney General so that steps could be initiated to prosecute Louisiana officials. On November 10, 1973, HEW issued its first series of letters to nine states informing them of the requirements for compliance to the desegregation mandate. Letters went to the states of Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Virginia. These letters clearly reflected LDF's June 1973 communication to HEW.

Also, on Thanksgiving weekend 1973, a region-wide conference was convened in Baltimore to develop a coherent strategy at state and national levels to confront predicted efforts by the states either to circumvent the court order or to present unacceptable state desegregation plans. This historic meeting, financed by SEF, was hosted by Howard "Pete" Rawlings who already had organized a coalition of Maryland citizens interested in the desegregation process. Concerned citizens from the ten *Adams* states participated in the meeting. As a result, statewide coalitions were organized in each of the ten states. Pete Rawlings served as a consultant to facilitate the organization of state coalitions. The Maryland Coalition became the model of subsequent state coalitions. This organizational effort was given financial support by SEF which, in turn, had received special grants from the Whitney Foundation to defray the costs of coalition coordinators.

"The Higher Education Program has been of special assistance to the Georgia Coalition and to the formation and support of the Council of National Alumni Associations. This organization rallies support for the TBIs. Without SEF, we would not have achieved even 50 percent of the success we've experienced so far.

Thomas Dortch, President
Council of National Alumni Associations

MONITORING AND COALITION BUILDING

After providing seed money for the organization of state coalitions, the Foundation funded conferences at the state level, paid for position papers developed by the state coalitions, and financed meetings of coalition members with their congressional representatives in Washington, D.C., so that they could present their views and garner support.

The manifest functions of the coalitions were to monitor state desegregation plans; provide a mechanism for information dissemination; serve as a voice for black people and inform state agencies and other governmental officials that a black constituency was actively pursuing the interests of blacks in a search for equity in higher education. The latent functions of the coalitions were leadership development, grassroots involvement in desegregation, and citizen participation.[1]

Success in the realization of manifest functions of the coalitions was evident in SEF-financed regional conferences that facilitated outreach activities of the coalitions, which broadened their networks, and permitted coalition leaders to address the critical issues of student access, retention, financial aid, access to special programs and training. It was apparent also in the subsidization of meetings of coalition representatives with an array of lawyers, who apprised them of positions on specific aspects of desegregation. In effect, the coalitions became an effective voice for black concerns within the *Adams* states. Through

[1]The fact that latent functions were fulfilled may be gleaned from the observation that so many coalition leaders, subsequently emerged as either political leaders, governmental officials or as important educational figures within their states. This fact may be illustrated as follows: Pete Rawlings, who once headed the Maryland Coalition, is now a member of the Maryland House of Delegates and Richard Arrington, who headed the Alabama Center for Higher Education and established the Alabama Coalition, is the mayor of Birmingham. Dr. Marianna Davis, who led the South Carolina Coalition, served as acting president of Denmark Technical College in South Carolina. Eva Clayton, the leader of the North Carolina Coalition, now heads a major consulting firm which provides technical assistance on higher education programs. She also has served on the Warren County Board of Commissioners. Thomas Dortch, who leads the restructured Georgia Coalition, is a special assistant to U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, (D-GA).

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these efforts, the coalitions provided substantial input in the articulation of desegregation criteria for all levels of dual systems of state-supported higher education.

Monitoring and coalition building has been a highly relevant component of the Higher Education Program. Activities in some states have been sustained primarily by the presence of a strong leadership. Examples of effective coalitions include:

- The North Carolina Alumni and Friends
  This coalition was rooted in a lay group of politically-connected individuals who could influence institutions and blacks in the state legislature. This coalition was well-organized and able to move fast and shift focus to become a voice for blacks in education across the board. Many members of this coalition were sophisticated in research methodology, could organize their own research program, and use the research of others in the formulation of their arguments at state and national levels.
- The Florida Coalition
  This group was comprised primarily of black educators. As such, it was rooted in the institutions of higher education. It, too, became a powerful political force and exercised considerable influence on decision-makers in the State System of Higher Education.
- The Pennsylvania Coalition
  This coalition was formed years after the other first-tier coalitions by blacks in higher education but was drawn principally from blacks who worked in the predominantly white institutions. This group also had a broad network and access to politicians.
- The Virginia Coalition
  This group, led by Henry Marsh and James Ghee, has always enjoyed strong leadership and a cohesive structure. Consequently, it has been able to mobilize a broad range of members to act quickly on timely issues.
- The Arkansas Coalition
  Over the years, this Coalition has shown a combination of strong leadership and black involvement in higher education at the TWIs, the ability to negotiate the System and the ability to use information to facilitate desegregation.

"The progress which has been made in the dismantling of dual systems of higher education is directly related to the forums made possible by the SEF which afforded citizens' involvement and participation in the critical problems and issues resulting from higher education desegregation."

E. Lavonia Allison, Director
North Carolina Health
Manpower Development Program

ACCELERATION IN THE *ADAMS* CASE

Eight states presented state plans for desegregation by the June 1974 deadline. With the exception of the Mississippi Plan, those from the remaining eight states were approved. The Mississippi Plan was unacceptable since it did not address its two-year college component. The Mississippi case, like Louisiana, was referred for prosecution by the U.S. Attorney General's Office. A high level of skepticism about the adequacy of approved state plans pervaded the Foundation and LDF. As a result, the Foundation organized and funded a conference in Atlanta on June 14-15, 1974 to review commissioned critiques of the state desegregation plans. These critiques were shared with the state coalitions and other interested parties. One month later, the Foundation sponsored a conference on "Critical Issues Facing Blacks in Higher Education." This conference was attended by 100 persons. The papers prepared for this conference were shared with an ever-widening audience.

Similarly, the Foundation sponsored and served as the secretariat for a November 1974 conference involving delegates from the state coalitions of Georgia, Florida and North Carolina with representatives of Region IV/HEW Office for Civil Rights who were responsible for monitoring desegregation plans.

The critiques of the state plans had revealed numerous flaws, so severe that effective desegregation was not possible as presented in them. In response and as another component of the Higher Education Program, the Foundation convened black members of higher education governing boards from thirteen states in March 1975. It also commissioned consultants to again critique state desegregation plans and, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, convened 100 persons to participate in a conference on "Equality of Access in Postsecondary Education" in July 1975.

The major papers prepared for this conference were Alexander Astin's *The Myth of Equal Access in Public Higher Education;* James E. Blackwell's *Access of Black Students to Graduate and Professional Schools;* Virginia Fleming's *Financial Barriers to Equal Access to Higher Education* and Cameron Fincher's *The Access, Placement, Retention and Graduation of Minority Students in Higher Education.* These papers were subsequently published as separate monographs. A conference report, bearing the title of the conference and prepared by John Egerton, was also published. The Blackwell monograph was subsequently updated, published under the title of "The Participation of Blacks in Graduate and Professional Schools: an Assessment" and included in a brief filed by LDF in Judge Pratt's court.

"SEF has served as a facilitator, convenor and secretariat for groups interested in having a voice in the unfolding of the Adams *case."*

Elridge W. McMillan

As a result of the critiques of state desegregation plans, information supplied by participants in SEF-sponsored conferences, the work of the state coalitions, and its own investigations, LDF, on August 15, 1975, filed a motion for further relief. In November 1976, with the cosponsorship and financial support of the Whitney Foundation, the Higher Education Program convened a conference on "Assessing The Adams Plans: Two Years Later." HEW Secretary David Mathews was represented at this conference by Martin Gerry. During the conference, Mr. Gerry made what was viewed by many as a startling confession that the state plans were no more than "paper plans." It was that public admission of the worthlessness of the plans which persuaded LDF to depose Mr. Gerry for a court appearance in January 1977.

In turn, that deposition influenced Judge Pratt to hand down a "bench opinion" which stated that HEW had, indeed, failed to obtain workable state desegregation plans. Therefore, new plans were mandatory. HEW and the plaintiffs in the *Adams* case were required to confer with each other in order to construct acceptable guidelines for dismantling dual systems of publicly supported higher education. This order gave HEW 90 days to develop and issue specific criteria to guide the six states remaining in this first tier group of Adams states.[2] On April 1, 1977, Judge Pratt ruled that HEW had failed to negotiate workable plans and that new plans must be submitted. He ordered these re-submissions by July 1977.

At this stage in the litigation, SEF clearly had become an influential contributor to the litigation process. The Foundation allocated a substantial segment of its own budget and staff time for a variety of conferences, statewide meetings of the coalitions, consultants, and

[2]In addition to a separate status for Louisiana and Mississippi, by this time Maryland had filed a separate lawsuit against HEW, which still was pending, and Pennsylvania was excluded from the order by agreement of the parties.

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position papers. During this time, the Foundation also was able to obtain financial support and a genuine commitment to desegregation from the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and the Field Foundation.

The election of President Carter in 1976 meant a change of crucial decision-makers in HEW. In general, key HEW and Office for Civil Rights staff were considerably more supportive of the fundamental principles implicit in the *Adams* case which had become known as *Adams* v. *Califano*. For instance, David Tatel, the new director of the Office for Civil Rights, with Jean Fairfax helped forge new criteria for acceptable plans which followed Judge Pratt's admonition that, "the process of desegregation must not place a greater burden on Black institutions or Black students." Tatel and Fairfax were sensitive especially to Judge Pratt's warning to HEW that it must ". . . devise criteria which will take into account the unique importance of Black Colleges, and at the same time comply with the Congressional mandates."

Subsequently, HEW published desegregation criteria which included "Elements of a Plan." Those guidelines became the basic framework for all forthcoming state desegregation plans. The plans submitted by six states in 1976 which were accepted ultimately contained goals and timetables for addressing each element of the required criteria. Finally, a measurable yardstick for desegregation in higher education had been achieved. Nevertheless, significant problems remained. They included developing strategies for monitoring effective implementation of the state plans; allocating financial support of the desegregation effort within each state; delineating techniques for accelerating the pace of desegregation without damaging TBIs; and including all of the remaining jurisdictions which had operated dual systems of public higher education.

In the waning days of his Administration, President Carter included all 19 states under the *Adams* v. *Califano* umbrella. The nine states not included in the original mandate then became known as "Second-Tier" *Adams* states, and were ordered by the Court to abide by the decisions and orders issued in *Adams* v. *Califano*. The nine states were Alabama, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia. In 1983, Judge Pratt issued a new order which placed the lion's share of responsibility on the new Department of Education to mandate compliance from all *Adams* states.

The first conference of the SEF's Higher Education Program, July 1974

SEF funded and organized the first HEP conference to address critical issues arising from the Adams v. Richardson decision. Attended by 100 participants—SEF board and staff members, members of state desegregation monitoring coalitions, representatives of state education agencies, institutions, and other interested individuals—the conference was the first of a series of meetings which helped SEF become an influential contributor to the Adams litigation process.

Top photo: James Ghee, Virginia Coalition; Susan Ross, Georgia; James Solomon, South Carolina Coalition; Clarence Gregory, Maryland Coalition. Middle photo: SEF Executive Director John Griffin introduces board member Virginia Fleming to a conference participant. Bottom photo: State coalition and agency representatives from Virginia, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Georgia.

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OUTREACH AND NETWORKING

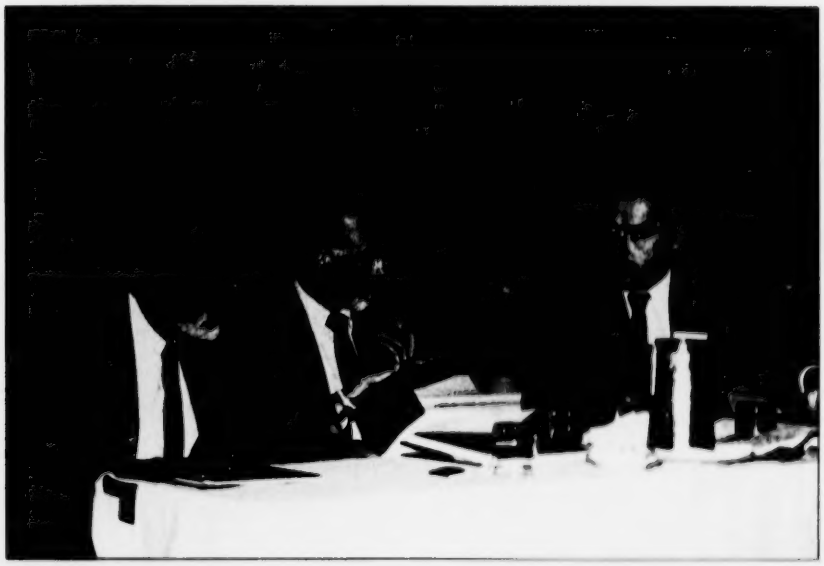
Under the Outreach and Networking component of the Higher Education Program, the Foundation has encouraged information sharing among actors concerned with *Adams*-related activities. Small grants have been made to both established organizations and institutions and ad hoc groups to support desegregation efforts to enhance TBIs.

It is precisely because of the need to assure responsibility and accountability among all actors involved in desegregation in the *Adams* states that the Higher Education Program has stressed outreach and networking. The Higher Education Program has supported the Council of National Alumni Associations. This Council serves as an umbrella organization for members of private and public TBIs. Its primary goals include rallying alumni to give financial support to the TBIs; conducting leadership development institutes to train participants in fundraising, student recruitment strategies, and obtaining tax benefits for nonprofit organizations. In this process, the Higher Education Program has been highly instrumental in surfacing a most under-utilized resource of TBIs—their alumni—and has generated increasing emphasis on self-help programs.

The Higher Education Program also has supported the National Black College Alumni Hall of Fame, which was inaugurated in September 1986 in Atlanta. The objectives of this group are to call attention to the quality of education of TBIs; increase recruitment of larger numbers of students for TBIs; and to use seed money from the Higher Education Program to generate additional dollars for the support of TBIs.

A recent example of a significant outreach and networking activity is the 1984 Higher Education Program sponsored conference in Atlanta on "Desegregation of State Systems of Higher Education: An Assessment." This meeting convened participants from 16 states and the District of Columbia. The conferees focused on several *Adams*-related issues including developmental studies; retention of black students; desegregation problems in community college systems; enhancement of historically black institutions, and current desegregation activities observed in selected states as well as by the United States Department

Through support of the National Council of Alumni Associations, the HEP has provided networking opportunities for black college presidents, administrators and alumni to discuss alumni development, fundraising and recruitment strategies.



RTF members Dr. Wiley Bolden (left) and Dr. William Curlette (right) consult with a participant during the 1986 HEP conference, "Developing Networks for Institutional Research on Desegregation-Related Equity Issues."

of Education. The conference report which bears the conference name, is one of the several SEF publications cited in the briefs filed in the Alabama desegregation case, *Knight Intervenors v. Alabama.* Perhaps most importantly, SEF conferences, as stated by Gordon Morgan, coordinator of the Arkansas coalition, have "allowed people to interact who would not have done so."

THE RESEARCH TASK FORCE

Prior to 1978, the Southern Education Foundation had no formal research unit even though it had commissioned a number of empirically grounded research projects. In that year, the Higher Education Program formalized and established a Research Task Force (RTF). The manifest functions of the Research Task Force were to:

- Conduct research germane to the process, status and condition of desegregation of public higher education;
- Conduct research that would provide an empirical basis for framing public policy with respect to desegregation of higher education;
- Serve as a review panel for solicited and unsolicited research proposals on various aspects of desegregation research and to recommend to SEF approval of projects selected;
- Identify new research talent among young black scholars at or near the beginning of their careers as academicians or as policy-makers in non-university settings;
- Assess the impact of desegregation on legislative action, governmental policy, and to determine ways in which legislators use and are influenced by desegregation research.

Implicit in this five-point charge was a commitment to focus on activities in the *Adams* states.

The initial members of the task force included Dr. Wiley Bolden, Georgia State University; Dr. Edgar Epps, University of Chicago; Dr. Cameron Fincher, University of Georgia; Dr. Anne S. Pruitt, currently of Ohio State University; Dr. Charles Grigg, Florida State University; Dr. Glenn Howze, Tuskegee University; and Dr. James E. Blackwell (Chair), The University of Massachusetts/Boston.

Karima Al-Amin, SEF consultant served as liaison between the Research Task Force and SEF. After the resignation of two

"The RTF has been most successful in identifying researchers and scholars who can make a substantive contribution to SEF's work through research and scholarship."

Cameron Fincher

Members of the Research Task Force, left to right: Dr. Wiley Bolden, Dr. Cameron Fincher, Dr. William Curlette, Dr. James Blackwell, Dr. Edgar Epps, Dr. Anne Pruitt.

members—Grigg, due to ill health, and Howze, because of international commitments—Dr. William Curlette of Georgia State University was selected and agreed to join the RTF. All members have worked in educationally integrated settings. Azl black members of the RTF had some experience of working in TBIs.

SUPPORT OF RESEARCH

Although research contracts have been quite small, the studies produced have been quite significant. Until the acquisition of the first major grant from the Ford Foundation, the amount of money that the SEF board was able to allocate to the Higher Education Program enabled the Research Task Force to recommend grants ranging from $3,500 to $15,000. Despite the small amounts of the grants, some of the studies produced from that first cohort have become internationally recognized, achieved an exceptionally high rate of citations in the desegregation literature, and frequently are used by policy-makers in higher education. With the acquisition of a major grant from the Ford Foundation, the expanded Higher Education Program permitted awards in the range of $15,000 to $25,000.

The Research Task Force did a commendable job of attracting new scholars to desegregation research; however, awards available for research projects generally were insufficient to enable a researcher to use it as a sabbatical leave grant. Further, the Research Task Force also was bound by a policy which prevented these funds from use as payment for overhead. Research Task Force grants or contracts essentially were personal services contracts and not institutional grants. Nevertheless, most researchers were compelled to rely upon informal support from their own departments or institutional services in the conduct of their research projects.

"The Research Task Force which commissioned research on desegregation in higher education, enlarged our knowledge base regarding equality of opportunity in higher education."

Anne S. Pruitt

The Research Task Force identified a number of researchers from TBIs who responded to requests for proposals and were funded: Antoine Garibaldi of Xavier University (LA); Yvonne Abatso, then of Fisk University; Rhoda Johnson of Tuskegee University, and Kenneth Jackson then of Texas Southern University. Had SEF been able to provide larger research contracts, it is possible a greater number of researchers from TBIs would have been able to take a semester or a year off as unpaid leave to conduct a research study.

Twenty-two published monographs and three books have resulted from these efforts. The research monographs have addressed some of the more important issues of our time in terms of higher education interests. The range of subjects includes:

- The Impact of Title III on Historically Black Institutions
- Access, Retention and Progression of Black Students Through the Two-Tier Florida Higher Education System (Trends and determinants of access, retention & progression)
- Enrollment Patterns of Black Students in the *Adams* States (Data are disaggregated by Black/White; two and four year colleges & universities)
- Black Employees in Traditionally White Institutions (Examined HEGIS/OCR data on distribution by rank, gender and race)
- Determinants of the College Destination of Black Students (Compared college going rates of students in both desegregated and less desegregated institutions. It raised the question: Does being at a desegregated college make a difference in the decision to go to college and or in the ability to be selected for college?)
- Factors Influencing Major Field Choices of Black College Students
- Standardized Test Scores and the Black College Environment

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- Coping Strategies: Retaining Black Students in College (Examined the kinds of coping strategies developed by black college students and the relationship between these strategies and retention through college graduation)
- Institutional Effectiveness in the Production of Baccalaureates (Develops a model for determining institutional effectiveness in graduating college students; uses a cross-national sample and meta-analysis of such variables as institutional control, racial identification)
- Factors Related to Post Baccalaureate Careers of Black Graduates of Selected Four-Year Institutions in Alabama (Makes comparisons between graduates of TBIs and TWIs; public and private institutions)
- Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Early Attainment of Black Students
- Networking and Mentoring: A Study of Cross-Generational Experiences of Blacks in Graduate and Professional Schools (Examines the degree to which black graduate/professional students participated in networks while enrolled and following their graduation; the degree to which blacks experienced a mentoring-protege relationship and factors determining their selection as a mentee; or whether or not the relationship with significant others amounted to something less than a true-mentor-protege relationship)
- The Production of Black Professionals
  (Examined recruitment, enrollment and graduation trends of black doctoral students and of blacks in such professional fields as medicine, dentistry, law, pharmacy, optometry, veterinary medicine, engineering, and social work during the 1970s. This study also developed predictors of success in the recruitment, enrollment and graduation of black graduate/professional students. It is one of the studies that resulted in two SEF-sponsored books: MAINSTREAMING OUTSIDERS: THE PRODUCTION OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS first published in 1981. The second edition which provides a fifteen year trend analysis of enrollment and graduation in the professional fields and of black doctorates (1970-1985) is in press and expected to be released in 1987).
- The Causes and Consequences of College Students' Performance
  (This is a study of Black and White students' attrition rates, progression rates and related grade point averages)
- Financial Assistance to Black Doctoral Students in Two Adams States (Provides a carefully constructed model for examining the effectiveness of financial assistance in the production of Black doctorates)
- Effectiveness of State Financial Aid in the Production of Black Doctorates
- Gender and Campus Race Differences in Black Student Academic Performance, Racial Attitudes and College Satisfaction
- The Decline of Teacher Production in Louisiana And Attitudes Toward the Profession (The findings of this study have enormous implications for assessments of teacher production in colleges and universities throughout the nation)

"The Research Task Force has contributed richly to the higher education literature on desegregation . . ."

Wiley S. Bolden

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- The Effects of New Standards on College Entry, Choice of Program, and Graduation for Black Students. (This study compares these effects in the states of North Carolina and Louisiana. TBI and TWI public and private institutions are involved.
- Educational and Occupational Aspirations And Early Attainment of Black Males and Females)

". . . All reports contain descriptive statistics which make the reports easier to understand and reach a wider audience."

William Curlette

OTHER RESEARCH TASK FORCE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Higher Education Program sponsored researchers presented their findings at a number of conferences which informed a greater audience of research consumers:

- American Sociological Association
- American Education Research Association
- Society For the Study of Social Problems
- Association of Black Sociologists
- Eastern Sociological Society
- Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists
- Southern Sociological Association
- National Council on Measurement in Education
- The Second National Conference on Desegregation
- Second National Conference of Black Administrators in Predominantly White Institutions
- The Illinois Association of Concerned Black Faculty and Staff
- The ETS Invitational Conference on Educational Standards, Testing and Access
- National Association For Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO)
- The Council of Graduate Schools

Citations of research have been quite widespread. Research Task Force studies have been reviewed by *Contemporary Sociology; The Journal of Negro Education; Library Journal; Choice; Journal of Social Work; Journal of Negro History; Journal of the American Medical Association; Journal of the Negro Medical Association; Integrated Education* and many others.

Yet, the research products have been more than academic research. They also can be characterized as intervention and/or advocacy research with enormous public policy implications. A measure of the impact of these products and individual researchers in this arena may be illustrated by the following examples:

- Dr. Epps was asked to present a critique of desegregation of higher education in Arkansas at the Southwest Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Hearing held in Little Rock, in December 1985.
- Dr. James Upton has worked closely with the black legislative caucus of Oklahoma; also with the Greater Oklahoma City Urban League and the Southwest Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. In part, as a consequence of the study conducted by Upton and Pruitt in Oklahoma, a Special Committee on Affirmative Action in Higher Education was created by the Oklahoma Legislature. Dr. Upton presented findings from their research study to this Committee.

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- As a result of work Dr. Blackwell has done for SEF and as a member of the RTF, as well as other academic work in race relations and the sociology of higher education, he has served as an expert witness on behalf of the plaintiffs in the Alabama desegregation case.
- Dr. Pruitt has conducted significant seminars and workshops involving practitioners in university-wide desegregation efforts.

As a result of this combined effort and sustained commitment, the Southern Education Foundation/Research Task Force became nationally recognized as a major center for desegregation research in the country. For example, the study by Walter Allen received special attention in *USA Today and The Chronicle of Higher Education*. It is in its second printing.

The far-reaching implications of the Higher Education Program are exemplified in a statement by Leonard Haynes, Ph.D., a professor of history at Southern University, Baton Rouge, who has been actively involved in desegregation efforts at national and state levels for more than a decade. He wrote:

> *I was first introduced to the programmatic thrusts of the SEF in 1974 while I was completing my dissertation on higher education desegregation at The Ohio State University. Since that time I have been very active in SEF's higher education desegregation program as a participant and beneficiary."*
>
> *"Few observers of higher education desegregation would argue that SEF has developed an outstanding track record in researching and monitoring issues relating to higher education desegregation. In that regard, I have been most impressed with SEF's research on pertinent issues impacting the capacity of the society to achieve more and better higher educational opportunities for blacks; with the Foundation's ability to disseminate on a timely basis research findings and information on desegregation to public officials; agencies of higher education, institutions, interested groups and individuals; and with the Foundation's program of technical assistance to organizations and institutions interested in achieving equity and parity for blacks and other Americans in higher education.*

The successes described in the preceding section would not have been achieved without the outstanding leadership and commitment by the current president of the Foundation, Elridge W. McMillan, and with the support of Foundation staff, the board of trustees, and a group of dedicated researchers and scholars. Without question, the sustained commitment of all these individuals to the higher education enterprise has been critical for the overall conceptualization and identification of crucial issues.

UNFINISHED AGENDA

Individuals who have been involved in the Higher Education Program over the past twelve years are uniform in their position that, although the formal Higher Education Program has ended, there still remain many avenues for SEF or other organizations to pursue.

- Research, the funding of proposals, and the awarding of grants must remain a high priority. Organizations may consider the recruitment of a full-time staff person trained in qualitative and quantitative research methodology who can engage in small-scale research on a continuing basis and use the skills of a body, such as the Research Task Force, to assist in the selection of individuals for larger-scale research activities.
- A program to enable faculty from the TBIs who have not completed the doctoral degree to receive paid leave to work on research projects is desirable. Such programs especially are important to those individuals employed at institutions that do not offer paid sabbaticals and to which major research grants for faculty development are in short supply. This could take the form of a fellowship program similar to that which was successful in the 1960s.
- Research Task Force members recommended that SEF or other organizations could publish a semi-annual journal with a focus on essays dealing with educational policy. This journal could be addressed to a wide and diverse audience of decision-makers and practitioners in the field of desegregation.
- The establishment of an Early Identification Program may facilitate in identifying future researchers.
- There is a need to continue special topics seminars and conferences that have been instrumental in raising a national level of consciousness related to the progress and problems encountered in the implementation of desegregation across the South and the nation. Topics of these conferences might include the monitoring of state desegregation programs and assessments of their progress toward full compliance plus actions to achieve the ultimate goal of an equitable unitary system that protects the heritage and viability of the historically black institutions.
- Coalitions and grassroots organizations that have depended heavily upon SEF could become more independent. they could develop a three to five year plan for raising funds that will enable them to support a full-time staff. In turn, this process would permit the construction of a self-sustaining mechanism for generating revenue and networking with and between states.

Finally, SEF constituents emphasize that the federal government today is not as diligent as have been past Administrations in advancing desegregation in the *Adams* states. Evidence abounds that the federal government is resisting these efforts. Therefore, it is substantially more imperative to be much more aggressive, pro-active, and persistent in addressing and influencing state actions with respect to the desegregation of public higher education. Irrespective of new paths that might be followed, the momentum of higher education activities generated by the Foundation should not be lost.

The Research Task Force recommended that attention be given to specific areas. These include:

- The Status of Black Males in Higher Education: Enrollment and Graduation Issues
- Characteristics and Perceptions of Black Administrators in TWIs in the *Adams* States
- Participation of "Other-Race" Students in the Campus Life of HBIs - degrees of integration and commitment to the institution.
- An Evaluation of Faculty/Administrative Recruitment Programs at TWIs in the *Adams* States
- Racial Differences in the Distribution of Teaching Assistantships, Research Assistantships and Institutional Scholarships in TWIs
- A Study of Effective Retention Programs in TWIs and HBIs: What Works and Why?
- Articulation Between Two-and-Four Year Colleges by Race
- Promotion and Tenuring of Black Faculty in TWIs in *Adams* States
- The Use of Part-Time Faculty by Race in Colleges & Universities
- Black Student Life and Culture at TWIs
- Impact of Retrenchment Policies on Minority Faculty & Administrators
- Case Histories of Statewide Coalitions and of their Impact on the *Adams* Case
- A History of the *Adams* Litigation
- The Effects of Educational Policy on Desegregation in the *Adams* States
- A Study of Black Faculty Attrition in TWIs

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APPENDIX I

INDIVIDUALS INFLUENTIAL IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

Karima Al-Amin has served as a consultant to SEF in the area of higher education since 1974. In this position, she coordinated all activities of the HEP, including grant-development; proposal reviews; working with the Research Task Force; planning conferences and disseminating publications produced by the RTF. Prior to joining SEF, Ms. Al-Amin was employed by the Georgia Statewide Coalition to compile information on desegregation. She has also administered grant-making projects for The Youth Project, a public foundation which provided seed money to grassroots organizations, and has served in a number of adult education positions with the Board of Education of the City of New York.

Jean Fairfax served as a member of SEF's Board of Trustees from 1968 to 1974. As director of the Division of Legal Information and Community Service of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, she was influential in convincing the Board of the importance of the unfolding *Adams* litigation and the necessity of establishing a model of involvement by a philanthropic organization. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Michigan in 1941, she began her career as dean of women at Kentucky State College. While at Kentucky State, she was tapped to integrate the YWCA and coordinated interracial activities. She served as dean of women at Tuskegee Institute from 1944 to 1946, and then completed foreign service in Austria and England with the American Friends Service Committee. In 1957, Ms. Fairfax was named director of the Southern Civil Rights Program of the American Friends Service Committee. From 1965 until she retired in 1985, she was director of the Division of Legal Information and Community Service for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

John A. Griffin served as executive director of the Southern Education Foundation from 1964 to 1978. Prior to joining SEF, Dr. Griffin served as associate director for Conciliation of the Community Relations Services, which played an important role in alleviating tensions between and among various racial groups. He also held numerous academic and administrative positions at Georgia Tech, Emory and Florida State University. A native Southerner, he was educated in Atlanta's public schools, received an A.B. and M.A. from Emory University and earned his doctorate from the Univerity of Wisconsin. A sociologist and educator, Dr. Griffin provided the leadership and organizational skills which were vital in persuading Board approval for his program goals. Dr. Griffin was always concerned about the persistent and continuing problem of educational dualism in the South. He recognized that a dual system of elementary, secondary and higher education continued even though the momentous *Brown* decision had declared illegal all such systems of education. Dr. Griffin is a founding member of the Southern Regional Council and the Southeastern Council of Foundations.

Elridge W. McMillan joined the Southern Education Foundation in 1968 as program associate, and was appointed executive director in 1978. His title was changed to "president" in 1983, when the Foundation's organizational structure was revised. After seven years of service on the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia, Mr. McMillan was elected chairman of that body in 1986. Previously, Mr. McMillan was chief of the Educational Branch of the Atlanta-based

Regional Office of the U.S. Office for Civil Rights. He has served as a director of the Council on Foundations and the Association of Black Foundation Executives; a member of the board of trustees of the Consortium for the Advancement of Private Higher Education, and Clark College.

Research Task Force Members*

James E. Blackwell, Ph.D., is professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. He has held full-time teaching positions at Case Western Reserve University, San Jose State University and Grambling State University. He has lectured widely in the United States, East Africa and Southeast Asia. He has also held administrative directorships in American foreign service programs in Tanzania, Malawi and Nepal. He has served as president of the Eastern Sociological Society, the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the Caucus of Black Sociologists. His major publications include *The Black Community: Diversity and Unity; Mainstreaming Outsiders: The Production of Black Professionals; Cities, Suburbs and Blacks* (with Philip Hart); *Mentoring and Networking: Experiences of Black Professionals; Black Sociologists: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (with Morris Janowitz); and *Community Development Focus,* with Boyd Faulkner et al. He has also published widely in journals and anthologies.

Wiley S. Bolden is professor of education in the Department of Educational Foundations, Georgia State University. He earned his graduate degrees from Columbia University. He was previously vice-president for special projects and associate director of the Advanced Institutional Development Program Review and Evaluation Project of the University Associates in Washington, D.C. He has also served as Associate Director for Research and Evaluation, Southeastern Education Laboratory, and as dean of Faculty and Instruction at Clark College in Atlanta. His writings and publications are extensive.

William L. Curlette is associate professor in the Research Section of the Department of Educational Foundations at Georgia State University. He received his Ph.D. degree in Educational and Psychological Statistics, Measurement and Evaluation from Syracuse University. He has served as president of the Georgia Educational Research Association and of the Southeastern Society for Multivariate Experimental Psychology. He is the author of numerous studies and published articles.

Edgar G. Epps has served as the Marshall Field IV Professor of Urban Education at the University of Chicago since 1970. He previously held faculty positions at Tuskegee Institute, the University of Michigan, Florida A&M, and Tennessee State University. He earned a Ph.D. degree in sociology from Washington State University. His books include *Black Students in White Schools, Race Relations, Cultural Pluralism,* and (with Patricia Gurin) **Black Consciousness, Identity and Achievement.** He has authored many articles on sociological and psychological factors that influence achievement and motivation. He is a member of the Southern Education Foundation's Board of Trustees.

Cameron Fincher is Regents Professor of Higher Education and Psychology at the University of Georgia and director of its Institute of Higher Education. Educated at the University of Minnesota and Ohio State University, he has published widely in psychological and education journals. He served for five years as a member of the Governor's Committee on Postsecondary Education (Georgia's 1202 Commission)

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and has been a participant on various planning committees and task forces for over 25 years. In 1982, he was the first recipient of the Ben W. Gibson Award, given by the Southern Regional Council of the College Board for outstanding contributions to higher education. In 1983, he was designated a distinguished member of the Association for Institutional Research.

Anne S. Pruitt is director of the Center for Teaching Excellence at Ohio State University. She is a graduate in psychology of Howard University, with graduate degrees from Columbia University. She has authored several publications dealing with desegregation in higher education, including the desegregation process in Nashville, Savannah, and Norfolk.

*Charles M. Grigg of Florida State University and Glenn Howze of Tuskegee University resigned from the Research Task Force.

Trustees from 1974-1986

Eula Adams
Elaine B. Alexander
Samuel W, Allen
Richard Arrington
Sarah S. Austin
Adrienne Y. Bailey
Jack Bass
Deborah Hodges Bell
Wiley S. Bolden
Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Wilhelmina Delco
Cleveland L. Dennard
Edgar Epps
Jean Fairfax
Richard B. Fields
Harold C. Fleming
Virginia Fleming
Gordon Foster
Norman C. Francis
David Freeman
Erwin A. Friedman
Larry Gellerstedt III
Willie W. Herenton
Watts Hill, Jr.
F. Lee Jacquette
Tobe Johnson
Eamon M. Kelly
Ruby G. Martin
John U. Munro
Anton H. Rice, Jr.
Gloria Scott
Edgar E. Smith

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APPENDIX II

AUTHORS OF HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM SPONSORED STUDIES

Yvonne Abatso	Fisk University
Walter Allen	University of Michigan
James E. Blackwell	University of Massachusetts/Boston
Jomills Braddock	Johns Hopkins University
William and Marian Brazziel	University of Connecticut and the Mansfield Center
Elaine Copeland	University of Illinois/Champaign
Edgar Epps	University of Chicago
Jacqueline Fleming	United Negro College Fund
Cameron Fincher	University of Georgia
Antoine Garibaldi	Xavier University (LA)
Charles Grigg	Florida State University
Philip Hart	University of Massachusetts/Boston
Kenneth Jackson	Texas Southern University and the University of Houston
Rhoda B. Johnson	Tuskegee University
Lena Wright Myers	Jackson State University (unpublished)
Michael Nettles	Tennessee Higher Education Commission and the Educational Testing Service
Anne S. Pruitt	Ohio State University
Rodney Reed	University of California/Berkeley
Gail Thomas	Johns Hopkins University
William Trent	University of Illinois/Champaign
James Upton	Ohio State University
Doris Y. Wilkinson	Howard University (unpublished)

The following studies resulted in the publishing of books:

Mainstreaming Outsiders: The Production of Black Professionals (First and Second Editions—1981 and 1987, General Hall Publishers) by James E. Blackwell

In Pursuit of Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (A collection of research pieces, edited by Anne S. Pruitt; scheduled for publication in 1987 by General Hall Publishers)

As of this printing, three additional studies are in progress:

A Study of the Impact of New Standards on Access, Progression and Graduation for Blacks, by Nathaniel Pugh, Jr., Georgia State College

Profile of Black Members of the Faculties of Traditionally White Public Higher Education Institutions in the Adams States, by Kenneth Jackson, University of Houston

Public Higher Education in the Adams States: Professional and Social Experiences of the Black Faculty—Fact and Perception: How Far Apart?" by Joseph Silver, University System of Georgia

APPENDIX III

HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM GRANTS

1973-1974	
Oak Ridge Associated Universities, Inc.	$2,740
Medical College of Georgia	1,000
Georgia Medical Association	2,500
Kennesaw Junior College	2,000
North Carolina Health Manpower Development Program	20,000
1974-1975	
Morgan State College	$991
Institute for Services to Education, Inc.	2,246
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University Foundation, Inc.	1,500
Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education	3,500
Black Mississippians' Council of Higher Education	3,500
Auburn University	890
1975-1976	
Emory University Law School	$4,000
Medical College of Georgia	1,200
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students	3,000
University of Georgia	1,000
1976-1977	
The Youth Project/Southern Office	$16,000
The Youth Project/Southern Office	3,000
The Institute for Services to Education, Inc.	1,500
The Institute for Services to Education, Inc.	800
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education	3,500
Office for Advancement of Public Negro Colleges	911
The Black Concerned Citizens for Higher Education in Florida	3,000
The Youth Project/Southern Office	2,500
The University of Georgia	800
1977-1978	
Albany State College	$1,000
Atlanta University	2,000
Georgia Black Coalition on Higher Education	2,500
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education	3,000
North Carolina Alumni and Friends Coalition	17,500
Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education	3,000
The Youth Project	1,500
United Negro College Fund	4,000
University of Florida	900
1978-1979	
Committee for the Humanities in Georgia	$500
Harvard University Institute for Educational Management	7,000
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students	5,000
United Board for College Development	3,200
University of Georgia (Institute of Higher Education)	3,743

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1979-1980	
Alabama Center for Higher Education	$5,000
Georgia Black Coalition on Higher Education	2,800
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education	3,500
North Carolina Alumni and Friends Coalition	3,600
The College Board	1,500
1980-1981	
Council of National Alumni Associations	$1,500
Institute of Higher Education, University of Georgia	2,600
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.	12,500
Georgetown County Schools	1,670
1981-1982	
Council of National Alumni Associations	$4,000
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education	5,000
Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges	1,500
Shaw University	3,500
1983-1984	
Florida A & M University	$5,000
MCD, Inc.	3,500
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education	4,000
North Carolina Alumni & Friends Coalition	1,200
Council of National Alumni Associations, Inc.	2,300
Coalition for the Concerns of Blacks in Post-secondary Education (FL, SC)	5,000
Georgia State University	2,500
Maryland Education Committee	5,000
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education	4,000
Norfolk State University	2,000
North Carolina Central University	5,000
North Carolina Health Manpower Development Program	4,000
Southern University	2,500
Technical Resources International, Ltd. (N.C.)	5,000
Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education	6,500
Virginia State Conference NAACP	5,000
1984-1985	
Arkansas Adams Coalition	5,000
Council of National Alumni Associations	5,000
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund	5,000
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education	4,000
N.C. Health Manpower Development Program	4,000
Virginia State Conference NAACP	1,200
1985-1986	
Council of National Alumni Associations	6,000

APPENDIX IV

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR ACTIVITIES

The Higher Education Program officially was launched by the Board of Directors of the Southern Education Foundation in April, 1974. Throughout the years of existence, the program has retained its original mandate of addressing the critical issues affecting blacks in the process of desegregating public higher education state systems.

The following chronology highlights the major conferences and activities sponsored by SEF's Higher Education Program:

May 2, 1974—Planning Conference with SEF Board members and other consultants in the development of the program

June 14-15, 1974—Conference for reviewing critiques of state desegregation plans (critiques subsequently were shared with black coalitions and other interested parties)

July 11-13, 1974—Conference on "Critical Issues Facing Blacks in Public Higher Education." (papers were reproduced and shared with approximatley 100 conferees)

November 4, 1974—Sponsored and served as secretariat for a conference between representatives of black coalitions from Georgia, Florida and North Carolina and Region IV/DHEW Office for Civil Rights representatives responsible for monitoring referenced state desegregation plans.

February 22, 1975—Access Conference Planning Session

March 7-8, 1975—Black Regents Conference (approximately twenty-eight Regents participated representing public higher education governing boards in 13 states—ARK, FLA, GA, LA, MD, NC, Ohio, OKL, SC, TN, VA and West VA)

March 26-28, 1975—Monitoring Working Session (consultants were commissioned to critique state plans and the semi-annual progress reports)

July 17-18, 1975—Conference on "Equality of Access in Postsecondary Education." (co-sponsored by the Ford Foundation, the conference convened approximately 100 participants)

December 5-6, 1975—Convened a mini-conference of black Regents to explore further possible steps toward the organization of a continuing conference (a steering committee selected a task force of five persons to draw a position paper)

January 17, 1976—Black Regents Task Force met in Washington, D.C. to finalize a working paper for group consideration.

January 28, 1976—Steering Committee assembled in Atlanta to finalize position paper and plan for March, 1976 assembly.

February 15-17, 1976—Conference on "Black Colleges As A National Resource: Beyond 1975."

March 5-6, 1976—Conference of Black Board Members. The Continu ing Conference of Minority Members of Governing Boards was established and became independent of SEF.

November 5-6, 1976—Conference on "Assessing the Adams Plans: Two Years Later." (co-sponsored by John Hay Whitney Foundation)

September. 1978—Establishment of the Research Task Force

March 22-24, 1979—Conference on "Implementing Desegregation Plans in Public Higher Education" (sponsored with the assistance of the Field Foundation)

March 12-13, 1981—Conference coordinated by the Research Task Force, "The Participation of Black Americans in Higher Education: Policy Implications of Research." (Co-sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, this conference convened 65 individuals from agencies responsible for formulating public policy)

February 10-11, 1983—Conference of 55 individuals on "Desegregation of State Systems of Higher Education: A consultation" (partially supported with a grant from the Ford Foundation.)

April 2, 1984—*Adams* Consultation (presentation of state desegregation critiques to 35 participants; sponsored with a grant from the Ford Foundation)

June 13-14, 1984—Conference involving 61 participants, "Desegregation of State Systems of Higher Education: An Assessment" (sponsored with a grant from the Ford Foundation)

April 28, 1986—Seminar on "Developing Networks for Institutional Research on Desegregation Related Issues" involving 60 attendees including institutional research officers, faculty and graduate students from 15 traditionally black and traditionally white institutions from six *Adams* states (supported with a grant from the Ford Foundation).

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APPENDIX V

SEF PUBLICATIONS:
Produced and Disseminated by the Higher Education Program

- *Ending Discrimination in Higher Education,* (November, 1974)

July, 1975 Conference Publications:

- *Access of Black Students to Graduate and Professional Schools,* by James E. Blackwell, (July, 1975)
- *Equality of Access in Postsecondary Education, A Conference Summary Report,* by John Egerton, (July, 1975)
- *Financial Barriers to Equal Access in Higher Education,* by Virginia Fleming, (July, 1975)
- *The Myth of Equal Access in Public Education,* by Alexander W. Astin, (July, 1975)
- *The Access-Placement-Retention-Graduation of Minority Students in Higher Education,* by Cameron Fincher, (July, 1975)

Other Conference Reports:

- *Black Colleges as a National Resource: Beyond 1975.* A conference report by James E. Blackwell, (February, 1976)
- *Implementing Desegregation Plans in Public Higher Education,* by Robert E. Anderson, Jr. (August, 1979)
- *The Participation of Black Americans in Higher Education: Policy Implications of Research,* by John Egerton, (March, 1981)
- *Desegregation of State Systems of Higher Education: An Assessment* by James E. Blackwell (Oct., 1984)

SEF RESEARCH TASK FORCE COMMISSIONED PUBLICATIONS:

- *A Study of Title III Impact on Historically Black Institutions,* by Cameron Fincher, (April, 1980)
- *Access, Retention and Progression of Black Students Through the Two-Tier Florida Higher Education System,* by Charles Grigg, (Oct., 1980)
- *Recent College and University Enrollment Patterns of Black Students in States Affected by Adams-Califano Litigation,* by William and Marian Brazziel, (1980)
- *Black Employees in Traditionally White Institutions in the Adams States: 1975-1977,* by Anne S. Pruitt, (1981)
- *Mainstreaming Outsiders: The Production of Black Professionals,* by James E. Blackwell, General Hall publishers, Dix Hills, New York (July, 1981) - (Based on commissioned SEF study)
- *Determining the College Destination of Black Students,* by Gail E. Thomas and Jomills Henry Braddock II, (July, 1981)
- *Coping Strategies: Retaining Black Students in College,* by Yvonne Abatso, (May, 1982)
- *Factors Related to the Postbaccalaureate Careers of Black Graduates of Selected Four-Year Institutions in Alabama,* by Rhoda B. Johnson, (May, 1982)

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- *Networking and Mentoring: A Study of Cross-Generational Experiences of Blacks in Graduate and Professional Schools,* by James E. Blackwell, (July, 1983)
- *Black College Students and Factors Influencing Their Major Field Choice,* by Gail E. Thomas, Johns Hopkins University, (March, 1984)
- *Institutional Effectiveness in the Production of Bahoice,* by Gail E. Thomas, Johns Hopkins University, (March, 1984)
- *Institutional Effectiveness in the Production of Baccalaureates,* by Philip S. Hart, University of Massachusetts/Boston, (May, 1984)
- *The Causes and Consequences of College Students' Performance: A Focus on Black and White Students' Attrition Rates, Progression Rates and Grade Point Averages,* by Michael Nettles, Tennessee Higher Education Commission, Published by the Tennessee Higher Education Commission, (April, 1985)
- *Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Early Attainment of Black Males and Females,* by Edgar Epps, University of Chicago, (May, 1985)
- *Standardized Test Scores and the Black College Environment,* by Jacqueline Fleming, United Negro College Fund, Published by UNCF, (April, 1986)
- *Determining Institutional Effectiveness in the Production of Black Undergraduates,* by Doris Wilkinson, Career/Research Resources, Washington, D.C., Unpublished study, (July, 1985)
- *Financial Assistance to Black Doctoral Students in Two Adams States: A Policy Analysis,* James Upton and Anne S. Pruitt, (January, 1986)
- *The Decline of Teacher Production in Louisiana* (1976-83) *and Attitudes Toward The Profession,* by Antoine Garibaldi, Xavier University, (April, 1986)
- *Gender and Campus Race Differences in Black Student Academic Performance, Racial Attitudes and College Satisfaction,* by Walter Allen, University of Michigan/Ann Arbor, (April, 1986)
- *Effectiveness of State Financial Aid in the Production of Black Doctoral Recipients,* by William E. Trent and Elaine B. Copeland, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, (June, 1987)
- *The Effects of New Standards on College Entry, Choice of Program, Continuation, and Graduation for Black Students,* FORNAX, INC./Rodney J. Reed, University of California, Berkeley, California, (August, 1987)
- *A Study of the Impact of New Standards on Access, Progression and Graduation Rates of Black Students at Public Colleges and Universities,* by Nathaniel Pugh Jr., Georgia Southern College, (Sept., 1987)

Additional Higher Education Program Publications

- *Desegregating Higher Education: An Analysis of the Maryland Plan,* by Merritt J. Norvell, Jr., (February, 1977)
- *The Participation of Blacks in Graduate and Professional Schools: An Assessment,* by James E. Blackwell, (March, 1977)
- *Something's Happening in South Carolina,* by Jack Bass, (July, 1982)

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Special Book Projects

- *In Pursuit of Equal Opportunity in Higher Education:* SEF Series in Higher Education, Anne S. Pruitt, Editor, General Hall Publishers, Dix Hills, New York, (February, 1987)
- *Mainstreaming Outsiders* (Second Edition), by James E. Blackwell, General Hall Publishers, Dix Hills, New York (SEF commissioned study), (June, 1987)

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APPENDIX VI

SOURCES

I. Books and Monographs

1. All publications listed in Appendix III
2. Committee on Dualism and Desegregation Within the University System of Georgia and the American Association of Higher Education, *A Call For Public Concern* (Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation), May 24, 1974.
3. Bolden, Wiley, "Future Directions for the Higher Education Program of the Southern Education Foundation: Suggestions From Members of the Research Task Force," (Unpublished Document Prepared for the Southern Education Foundation), August 15, 1986.
4. Huell, Barbara, Robert A. Kronley, and Haywood Strickland, *A Report on the Southern Education Foundation's Internship in Southern Education: 1965-1974* (Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation), C1974.
5. Southern Education Foundation, Selected Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Directors, 1970-1979). Unpublished.
6. Southern Education Foundation, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Research Task Force, 1978-1986." (Unpublished).
7. Southern Education Foundation, *1984-85 Annual Report* (Atlanta: SEF 1985).

II. Interviewees

1. Karima Al-Amin - Consultant
2. Thomas Dortch - Chair, Georgia Coalition
3. Jean Fairfax - NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
4. John Griffin - Former Executive Director of Southern Education Foundation
5. Elridge W. McMillan - President, Southern Education Foundation
6. James Upton - Associate Professor; The Ohio State University

III. Special Communications

1. Wiley Bolden, August 1, 1986
2. E. Lavonia Allison - August, 1986
3. William Curlette - August 31, 1986
4. Cameron Fincher - July 31, 1986
5. James E. Ghee - September 19, 1986
6. Leonard Haynes - September, 1986
7. Samuel Myers - July 25, 1986
8. Gordon Morgan - September 2, 1986
9. Anne S. Pruitt - July 25, 1986